

Community



Civil Rights

Need National Integration Act, Now!

"We need legislation which would lay the outlines of a national integration program, provide for multiple Federal assistance programs to this end, appropriate funds for these programs and provide penalties . . ."

IN THE FLUSH of victory felt by advocates of Civil Rights after the Supreme Court's Segregation Decision in 1954, perhaps some individuals felt that the battle was all but won; that the gradual processes of legality would do their work, and that even the most recalcitrant would come around in a matter of time.

Such individuals by this time should have long since been disillusioned. Yet a number of officials in our national Administration, including the President himself, still seem bemused by this fallacy. It is all well and good to talk about "gradual integration." Yet, as the Catholic Bishops have stated in this year's annual message, "We may well deplore a gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction." For if the dismal events of Little Rock have proven anything, it is that the situation will **not** solve itself—that it will only be solved with planning and leadership.

This error arises in part from a misunderstanding, first, of what the Constitution is and what it can be expected to accomplish; and second, of what the Supreme Court is and what it can be expected to accomplish.

Constitution Can Do More

The Constitution—like any nation's Constitution—can do no more than chart the boundary lines within which the nation's system of laws must develop. It is these laws, sharply and cogently drawn up, designed to deal with mundane specifics, and having, above all, provisions for **enforcement**, which are the real determinants of social policy in the nation. The Constitution, for example, grants the power to regulate interstate commerce, but it is the laws which have created the anti-trust machinery, the regulatory commissions and the rest of the great governmental structure regulating commerce today.

The Constitution proscribes the abridgement of freedom of speech, but it is the laws which say what kinds of speech, uttered under what conditions, are legitimate uses of this right and what kinds are libel or sedition. And similarly, the Constitution, in its Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1, says in part, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

But what has seemingly been forgotten by many people in the country is Section 5 of that same Amendment: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

(Continued on page 8)

EDITORIAL

Filibuster "Changes"



'Anybody Want To Argue About Other Rules?'

ONE THING made clear by the recent action on the filibuster amendment is the entrenchment of Southerners in Senate leadership roles. Lyndon Johnson's position was responsible for the defeat of any real change in the filibuster rule.

Senator Johnson's position in the Senate entitled him to the floor in preference to other Senators. He introduced a new change which stipulates that a vote to end debate must be carried by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Under the old rule a two-thirds vote of the total membership of the Senate—present or not—was required. Realistically, no Senator would miss such an important roll call vote. This change is really no change.

Viewed historically, cloture by two-thirds of Senators present was the rule from 1917 to 1949. It proved unworkable. Debate was limited on only four occasions during those 32 years. None of this legislation concerned civil rights. An examination of the eight failures to limit debate on a civil rights bill shows that two-thirds of those present and

voting never desired to limit debate.

It is clear that Southerners are the main obstacle to limiting debate. Their task has been made easier because of their leadership roles in the Congress. They should be removed from these positions. Congressional leaders should be able to lead for all the people and the Southerners have shown they will not do this.

Presently, civil rights could best be served by a re-alignment of political parties. A realignment which would bring together Republican and Democratic civil rights forces, so that, congressional leadership can be assumed by truly responsible men. For the sake of civil rights, we hope pleas for party unity will not prevail at future party debates.

—E.J.B.

Views

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky—Leaders of a conference of church-related colleges in the South were implored not to "consent to her self-destruction in a segregated gas chamber of hatred," in a warning from the Rev. Thurston N. Davis, New York, editor of the national weekly, *America*, at the meeting of the Association of American Colleges.

Father Davis cited statistics showing that while there will be a population shift in the South, most of the states will gain in population. This, he said, shows that "there is trouble ahead for colleges of the South," particularly in the states losing population or gaining only slightly.

"The future decline of the population of the South is due," he said, "to our failure to solve here the great dilemma of the race question. If we are to crush this massive ice pack of prejudice and false pride . . . then there is need for initiative and courage among our leaders . . . If (the church) was ineffective in the past, it now raises its hand with assurance and points the way. Surely our colleges and universities must do the same."

WASHINGTON, District of Columbia—The closing of the public schools and the consequent impact upon the children of Arkansas and Virginia was characterized as "indefensible" by Secretary of Welfare Flemming in a news conference here. He said further that

On Brotherhood Week

THOSE who are in, or close to, the field of human relations are well aware that the gravity of the problems of prejudice and discrimination are such that they cannot be solved by devoting one week from a year to that end. But they may be missing the point when they scoff at Brotherhood Week (we have often heard them call it "botherhood week").

The argument usually given is that it allows influential members of the community, who throughout the year have refused to employ Puerto Ricans, give mortgages to Negroes, or rent their apartments to Jews, to soothe their consciences by attending a dinner, applauding a few speeches, and making a tax-deductible contribution to a human relations agency.

While we will admit that this argument is valid with respect to some persons, we believe that an examination of the record would reveal many who have adopted the philosophy of equal opportunity because of having been exposed to the activities of Brotherhood Week. The National Conference of Christians and Jews, which sponsors Brotherhood Week, explains that it is set aside not as the one week best suited to the practice of brotherhood, but as a time of resolution and renewal to sustain brotherhood throughout the year. We agree, and we salute this institution which, this month, on its 25th anniversary, will be observed by more than 10,000 communities.

—JEB



Courtesy Father McCarthy — Chicago Syndicate

"No one can foresee all the significant social, economic, and psychological effects—on the children, on teachers, on the community—of closing the doors of public schools to our young people." Secretary Flemming called the failure of the schools to reopen "a tragic new circumstance in a nation which has proudly pioneered in providing free public education for all."

CINCINNATI, Ohio—At a meeting of the St. Lawrence Deanery Council of Catholic Men, John J. Gilligan, Cincinnati councilman, deplored the "blind, unreasoning panic" that so often attends a Negro family's move into a formerly white neighborhood. Mr. Gilligan, one of a panel of speakers who discussed the race problem, was joined by Father Clarence Rivers of the Purcell High School faculty, who presented the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ as a basis of the Christian approach to the question.

WASHINGTON, District of Columbia—Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas told 650 friends and admirers at a dinner in his honor in Washington that the North-South split on school integration should "spur us to greater exertions in building bridges of understanding and dispelling fears and antagonisms." He stated further that messages he had received since his defeat confirmed his belief that the moderate cause was not lost.

"One of the enigmas of modern life," he said, "is that ill will looks so deceptively strong, while the conquering power of compassion appears so frail."

NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana—At the New Orleans City Park Board's annual meeting, December 21st, park general manager Ellis Laborde stated that the Board had "reached the end of the rope," and that segregation would no longer hold in the New Orleans city parks.

The resolution read: "Having received a mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, the City Park Board is now bound by injunction of the U.S. court. Therefore, we instruct the general manager to carry out the expressed judgement of the court."

The action of the Board means that Negroes are now permitted the use of all park facilities—golf courses, baseball fields, tennis courts, amusement rides.

—Jean Hess

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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- Jean Hess, another regular contributor, is a librarian in Louisville, Ky.
- Rev. R. Reicher, is assistant pastor at Sacred Heart Parish in Chicago. This is his second article on Spanish-speaking problems in *COMMUNITY*.
- Mary Clinch is a regular Friendship House Volunteer.
- Aaron Aronin is Field Director for the Jewish Labor Committee. He has been a long-time worker in inter-group relations.
- John McKnight, staff member of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, is secretary to its Advisory Committee on Health and Hospitals.
- Warren Lehman, also with the Chicago Commission, is *COMMUNITY*'s regular headline reviewer.
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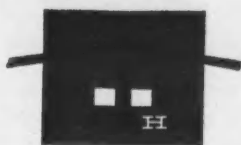
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COMMUNITY

Fun and Funds *Friendship House*

for



AN AMBITIOUS PROJECT—remodelling Friendship House's Chicago headquarters at 4233 South Indiana Avenue—is currently in full swing. In need of a face-lifting for some time, the Chicago building was seriously damaged last August by a fire which gutted the rear of the second floor.

These combined needs brought friends rallying to Friendship House's support. From New York to California came donations—gifts of people who had read of the fire in **COMMUNITY**, **The Commonweal**, or **The Catholic Worker**.

Many Chicago-area friends are holding Benefit fun-and-fund Parties in conjunction with the local Fund Drive (organized the day after the fire) to raise \$5,000 to refurbish the front of the building and the entrance room. When half the goal was reached in mid-November, construction work was begun. Pictures below show the progress on the project to date.



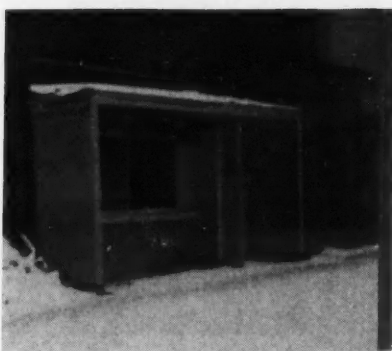
Remodeling . . .

before

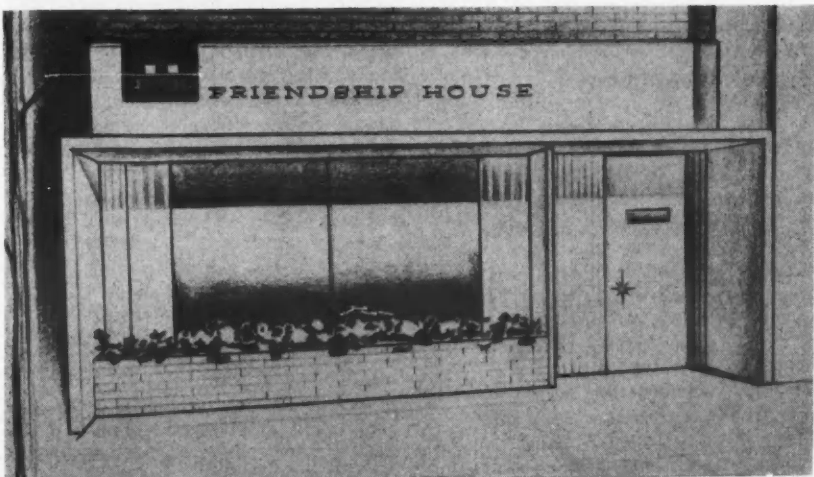


BELOW LEFT: Out comes the big storefront window, with the wall below it—so that . . . **BELOW RIGHT:** Up can go the new window wall and "shadow box" canopy, to make a warm inviting entrance. Only the Flower Box remains to be added.

during



after



Benefits . . .

PROOF THAT FUND-RAISING can be enjoyable was furnished at dozens of Benefit Parties given by friends of Friendship House in Chicago. One imaginative idea after another brought a series of delightful Benefits . . . helping to raise the needed funds and each reaching added groups—many of them coming to know FH for the first time. There was . . .

Dinner one evening and a semi-formal dance another evening at Aurelia and Bill Boston's home . . . "Cabaret" party at David and Mary James' house, with Mary Clinch and Clif Thomas co-sponsoring . . . Movie at Sally and Nat Leighton's, one made by Norma Geiger of European travels, with a spoken travelogue and a musical background . . . Joe Desbles' party was a spaghetti dinner with dancing afterwards.

Colleen Kelly - Lillian Lesak - Anne Sisco's party evening with lots of music and fun, plus a big assist from Young Christian Worker members, was held at the Kelly home on Chicago's west side . . . a folklore music-eating festival at the Vince Parks' had Ann Stull, Dian Cooper, and Paul Saunders as co-hosts.

Jeanne Dago arranged a novel benefit—a one-man-show by painter Thomas Caton Mitchell at the Custom Art Studio . . . and with Ruth Harvey and Dora Somerville, Mrs. Dago also held a Pre-Thanksgiving Jamboree at the Palm Restaurant.

Third Order Dominicans, St. Elizabeth Chapter—who have their monthly meetings at Friendship House—served a turkey dinner for members and friends . . . Dorothy Sanders had a Sunday brunch at her north side apartment . . . Millard Hughes entertained friends with a party evening held at Walter Ware's south side apartment.

Sylvia Barthold's benefit party featured a white elephant sale . . . Jeanne

and Bill Darley also held a sale—of books, religious articles, greeting cards . . . Agnes Burns made fancy party cookies to order . . . Kay and Ed Dixon arranged a sacred concert of Renaissance and Baroque music by the Monteverdi Singers at St. Ita's Church.

Even fund-raising is attractive when Friendship House friends turn their talents to Benefit Parties.

and the show must go on . . .



THROUGHOUT THE FUND DRIVE, the benefit parties, the construction activities, Friendship House has continued a full scale program of interracial work.

• **COMMUNITY**, published by Friendship House, reaches 6,000 subscribers monthly throughout the United States and 21 foreign countries.

• Several times each month the services of FH's Speakers Bureau are used at meetings of high school groups, women's clubs, parish organizations, colleges.

• "Visiting Workshops," a unique program of Friendship House, are provided on the average of twice a month for groups from throughout the Chicago area.

Curtains of Prejudice Ring Migratory Laborers

Migrants

"Are there any practical shortcuts to the problem of housing for these permanent-migrant workers?"

TWO months ago, a fire swept through a barn on a farm near one of Chicago's suburbs. The amount of damage did not run into the thousands. No one was hurt. No newspaper photographers rushed to the scene nor were columns written about the fire. There were no collections or benefits, because, after all, what is an old barn worth? In this case, it was someone's home.

A large family of Mexican-American farm laborers turned factory workers selected this as a winter home several years ago for \$30.00 a month. At first, it was just a place for the winter, but winter turned to summer, summer to winter, and years passed. A new child was born and baptized; another child entered school, but the old barn still stood as a home for one family. Later they were joined by another family that moved into an old shed. Their rent was \$25.00 a month.

In summer the stifling heat smothered all activity. The absence of insulation forced the thermometer over the 110 degree mark. Cooking on an open gas range made the place unbearable. In the winter, a kerosene stove tried to warm the drafty barn and shed. It failed. During most of the winter, those who didn't go to school or work stayed in bed during the day. The children slept crosswise instead of lengthwise because of the confined quarters and lack of funds for another bed.

Camarillo

The name of this family is Camarillo. They can't read English, and can't speak it either although the parents were born in Texas. The name of the family isn't too important. It could be Garcia, Lopez, Gomez, Gutierrez or any other Spanish name. The place isn't too important either because this same scene can be viewed in Texas, in Illinois, in Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, California, or practically any other state that uses migrant workers.

It is not very original to point out some of the contradictions in our modern American economy. We have been called an affluent and a prosperous country. And we are. But there just isn't enough good housing to go around to satisfy this country's needs. We know that the total value of the gross national product rises yearly. We can see ourselves getting closer and closer to the threshold of space. But many of our American citizens live in poorer

surroundings than those of a dairy cow. Of course, many millions of words have been spoken and written about the inadequacy of American housing.

But we can imagine the effects of this substandard housing on the people who live in it. The rate of disease and illness is high. Children who attend school are frequently absent because of colds or other more serious ailments. We have been fond of reading stories about Abraham Lincoln and his log cabin studies, but cramped quarters behind well kept farm houses are no place to raise scholars, especially in the difficult task of teaching English to Spanish speaking children.

No Real Stake

Some employers praise the Spanish speaking worker highly. In spite of a cultural difference, he has bridged the gap between the rural Rio Grande Valley way of life with the life of the modern city. Others say he possesses a lack of initiative, a desire for stability, since he has no real stake here in the North.

One of the interesting phenomenon of this housing problem is the abrupt transition from one world to another that children in the parochial or public school make each day. They leave poor, wornout shacks, without indoor plumbing, washing facilities, beds, and so on. They enter a school with its neatness and order. Here they remain for several hours. Without any apparent trouble or awareness of the contradic-

tion involved they return to the substandard way of life. Rarely among the young people can a trace of bitterness be found. Bitterness, resentment, dissatisfaction occurs after a few years of assimilation into the North when the Spanish-American begins to compare himself not with what he had in Texas, but with what his neighbors have.

Are there any practical shortcuts to the problem of housing for these permanent-migrant workers? Many attempts have been made to alleviate the situation, but prejudice, lack of financing, general intent to move South again when good news comes from the val-

ley, have all contributed to the delay of a practical solution.

Curtains of Prejudice

The Spanish-American worker faces a curtain of prejudice, not as strong as that facing the Negro in many places in the United States, but still enough to separate him from the remainder of the populace. Recently, in one of the towns along the Northwestern Railroad, a trailer was sold to a Spanish speaking family. An ordinary family had lived there for years. As soon as the Spanish speaking family moved in, a policeman neighbor found some technicality in the law, and forced the Mexican family to vacate—to vacate into an old building long abandoned by its owner. In one place, a Spanish speaking family was so bothered by inspectors and village officials while trying to get a contractor to build on a lot they bought, they gave up the idea of building. In another place, an old bus serves as home for a woman and three children at the cost of \$20.00 per month.

We must admit, however, that many people are truly concerned with the problem of the Spanish speaking people; but no one can come up with a solution that will positively work.

The members of various governmental groups have been approached, but nothing has been done to help the situation along. County officials promise help but don't know what form it will take. Food, clothing, Christmas baskets are not answers to a more fundamental problem. At a meeting of the Spanish speaking people in the area, help was promised by members of different political parties, but no help was forthcoming. There is a lot of indignant booing of the farmer who charges rent for such abominable housing, a lot of condemnation of the system forcing the workers to live under the conditions described, but nothing has been done. Maybe the laws can't be stretched to cover this situation, but no one has been willing to try to find out and follow the problem to its bitter end.

Contract Buying

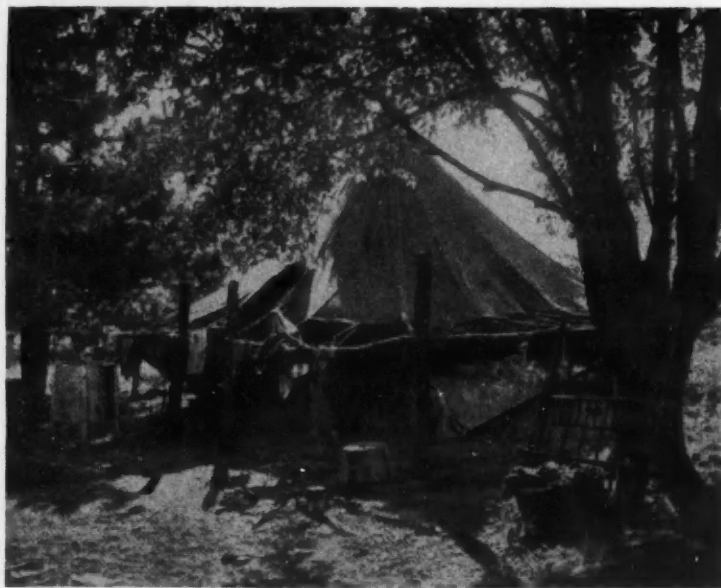
Financing presents a very difficult problem. On occasion, the Spanish speaking worker has purchased a home, usually one of those ill kept and poorly built houses on unincorporated land. But he finds it impossible to get a mortgage. He buys only on contract, without any real security and the constant



Above: • Migrant Child Asleep.

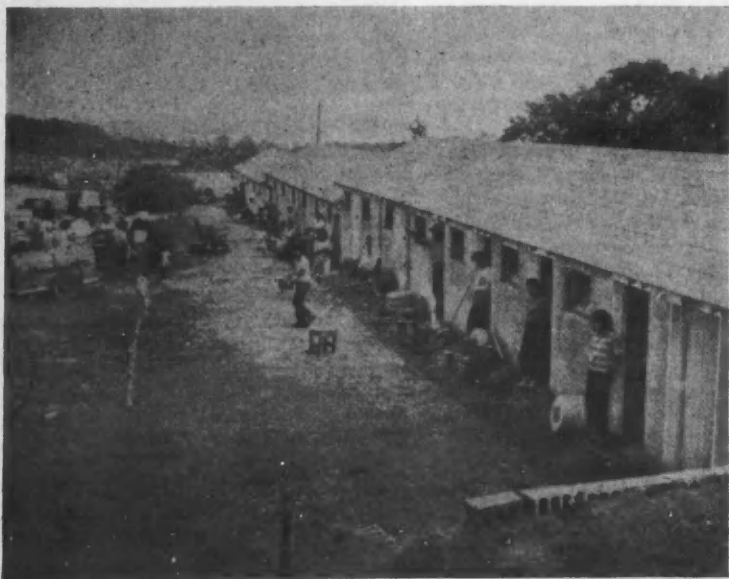
Above Right: • Migrant Children at Work.

Right: • Migrant Children at Play.



Above: • Migratory "Tent-Living."

Left: • One of the Cleaner Migratory Labor Camps.





threat of losing a home if a payment is missed. Even with more than one person working in a family, payments are hard to make. There are many car dealers who will finance cars for Spanish speaking people, but no one will finance a home.

In many cases, the Mexican American worker does not look for a permanent home. Only gradually does he realize that because of the force of economic pressure, he will probably never return to the Rio Grande Valley. Until the time of this realization, he has a desire for a suitable home, but does not think it necessary. When the children begin to grow up in Northern schools, he knows his problems, his separation from the culture around him, his inability to be absorbed completely into his surroundings, then the desire for a home rises.

However discouraging the picture may be, there must be some Christian solution to the problem. If the government cannot help, it can at least suggest and lead. Many officials have presented ideas which have led along paths of exploration, and perhaps the proposed development of a metropolitan Housing Authority for projects outside the general area of a town may bring some hope for alleviation of the situation.

Unawareness Dying

This problem has received much publicity over the past few years. No one is completely unaware of the presence of the Spanish American worker. There may be a complete ignoring of the man, but there can no longer be an unawareness.

Perhaps the solution lies with a group of lay people who have resolutely met to discuss the problem of housing for the worker. They have contacted all types of experts in the fields of housing. Now they are trying to find some developer who is interested in a low cost project, and also willing as an act of charity to forego any profit on the homes. They are looking for some real estate men who can find property cheap enough for development with low cost homes. They are looking for finance men who can help this program to its feet.

Obviously, the chief problem of the Spanish American worker is housing. He faces many difficulties. Right now his prospects are not too bright. But as each day brings more people interested, more people concerned with their plight, a solution will appear.

—Rev. R. Reicher

Civil Rights 'Petitioning' The Democratic Way of Life

THE Supreme Court decision to end segregation in the public schools resulted from a series of well prepared petitions by aggrieved persons carried up the path of Government agencies by private organizations. The results were achieved with the proper use of methods involved in good petitioning—fact finding, coordination, strategy.

The "walkathon" in Montgomery, Alabama was in fact, a form of petition by aggrieved persons requesting the elimination of segregation in buses. This petition also featured the presentation of facts, coordination, and strategy.

The extent to which petitioning for redress of grievances is permitted is a good measuring device to determine degrees of democracy and totalitarianism. It is also a force that has softened the rigidity of totalitarianism, and a wedge that directed efforts towards democratic societies.

The struggle in England for equality of status for those other than the nobility, and thereby the extension of the right to petition, found strong support in the middle 1600's, with the Puritan group, the Levellers, declaring that "the meanest man in England has the right to share in the election of his rulers." The rising middle class got Charles I to sign the Petition of Right in 1628, which stated various rights and attempted to outline the powers of Parliament. Continuous struggle finally led in 1688 to the Bill of Rights, accepted by the new rulers, William and Mary. One clause of the Bill of Rights guaranteed the right of people to petition the government.

Colonial Heritage

The freemen in the 17th Century America were quick to find grievances and quick to seek their redress. In 1635 an assembly representing them was set up in Maryland, in 1639 in Connecticut. At first, the privilege of voting was extended merely to freemen who were property holders.

However, increasing participation in local government in the first half of the 18th Century gave more opportunity for training in democracy. Charles A. Beard pointed out that: "They acquired training in drawing up bills and resolutions expressing their grievances, ideals, or demands . . . They could draft petitions to the Governor and appear before him to support their demands upon the executive."

The following are a few of the best known petitions: In 1765 the colonists petitioned the House of Commons for redress against the Stamp Act (as did the London Merchants in 1766). In 1768 Massachusetts sent a petition to

Essential To "Rights" Legislation

the king regarding the Townsend Acts. The Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress in 1774 held that the colonists had the "right peaceably to assemble, consider their grievances and petition the king . . ."

Humble Terms

The Continental Congress listed grievances in the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms in 1775. Finally, the Declaration of Independence listed a fulsome list of grievances against the king, and stated in summation "In every stage of these aggressions we have petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury."

It is therefore understandable that the new nation should institute in the very first Amendment to the Constitution the doctrine that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging . . . the right of the people . . . to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." It is also understandable, in light of the heavy and consistent reliance for generations on the process of petitioning for redress of grievances, that the culmination of this process, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, were such eloquent, durable institutions not only in the U.S., but with tremendous impact among aggrieved peoples in all parts of the world.

Petitioning for redress of grievances gives training in fact finding, coordination of groups, communication, strategy and tactics. The petitioning process works to establish due process procedures and governmental machinery to receive petitions and to provide redress. It is the foundation of labor unionism, civic group activity, political action, representative government, judicial procedure. It is basic to the improvement of intergroup relations and the replacement of civil wrongs with civil rights.

Various Approaches

Human relations work in recent years has stressed various approaches—changing attitudes, fostering "brotherhood," mass media. As a particular focus of social science disciplines it has used research in sociology, anthropology, history, law, psychology; employed lobbying and legislation; studied local government, particularly metropolitan areas; and has turned to community

organization, community education, and various forms of social action. The human relations "professional" may be an expert in one or more of the above areas or functions, but is usually the coordinator.

The significant successes in human relations have come when the above activities centered about the petitioning process. In the passage of the ordinance against discrimination in Chicago medical institutions, for example, the following steps were taken:

- Research studies in extent of discrimination to accompany the submission of a State bill
- More research for promoting a Chicago ordinance
- Coordination of human relations and civic agencies
- Conferences with hospital administrators, now that the facts were out, on "agreed" wording of the ordinance
- Piles of signed petitions, statements by groups to Aldermen, conferences of group leaders with certain Aldermen, testimony at hearings.

The work done was thorough, well-coordinated, and the ordinance was adopted in 1956. Grievance—petition—redress!

Mature Approach

The emphasis upon the petition approach in civil rights leads to a more mature and responsible approach. It lessens the use of civil rights as a means for personal recognition, the use of irresponsible mass meetings and unfounded charges in the press, and it produces more coordination and clearer objectives.

The need to petition is fundamental to democratic society because it is fundamental to the individual, even from the cradle. The infant expresses his needs for food, warmth and other necessities with whimpers and cries, gradually learning something of the art of communication. Just as the infant achieves his "rights" through his constant "petitioning," so must the citizen obtain and protect his rights.

But petitioning requires more than whimpers and cries—it also needs reflection. R. H. Towney reminded us that while people "may set up a new department, appoint new officials, and invent a new name to express their resolution to effect something more drastic than reform and less disturbing than revolution" they will effect nothing unless "they will take the pains, not only to act, but to reflect." Tactics without fact finding, for example, makes for poor strategy!

—Aaron Aronin

Concord Park Revisited *housing*

CONCORD Park Homes in Trevoze, Pennsylvania, in the vicinity of Philadelphia is the first interracial private housing development in the United States.

Once this community was fully settled, the Institute for Urban Studies, of the University of Pennsylvania arranged a study to determine the characteristics of these buyers of interracial housing. The Institute asked George and Eunice Grier, two social researchers, who were also among the first residents of Concord Park, to conduct the study.

Built in 1954, this typical suburban community contains 139 one story, ranch type homes in the \$12,000 to \$14,000 price range. A 45 per cent Negro to 55 per cent white resident quota insures that Concord Park will remain

interracial.

The Griers found the Concord Park residents to be middle income people engaged in occupations ranging from unskilled to professional among both Negro and white buyers.

Half Protestants

Slightly over half the white buyers were Protestants born in the United States. Less than one sixth of the white buyers had both parents foreign born. Only 16 per cent were Jews. Thus few of the white buyers could have suffered persecution and gained sympathy for Negroes as a result.

Forty five per cent of the white buyers did not know the development was interracial when they were first attracted to Concord Park. Although the developers had made a great effort

to attract white buyers among members of intergroup relations organizations, only 16 per cent belonged to such groups.

These findings caused the researchers to conclude that: "The white buyers of Concord Park are, in fact, considerably more representative of the general white population than many of Concord Park's sponsors anticipated at the outset."

Over half the whites, however, said that they would not have bought in Concord Park without assurance that Negroes would not be a clear majority of the community. This indicates the value of residential quota systems as a means to integrated housing.

—Mary Clinch

Negroes and Medicine in the U.S.

NEGROES AND MEDICINE, by Dietrich C. Reitzes. 400 pages. (Harvard University Press, \$7.)

THE citizens of Gary, Indiana must have been startled when they opened their newspapers on the day before Easter in 1947 and read a large ad which said, in part—

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. Galatians 5:1.

A MESSAGE FOR OUR EASTER SEASON

For years, Gary's colored physicians have sought admission to Methodist and to St. Mary's Mercy Hospitals, our most highly accredited in town.

Methodist and St. Mary's Mercy Hospitals are church institutions. On their staffs are white physicians who refuse to accept Negro practitioners as workers beside them, but who receive colored patients in their offices, in large numbers.

Any Negro patient of a colored doctor who must enter these hospitals must seek a white physician.

... do you remember the words of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, in the 1939 encyclical, urging justice to people of all colors?

For what then has Christ died? That the spirit of man should know him not?

In Christ Jesus there is 'neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female', but all are one.

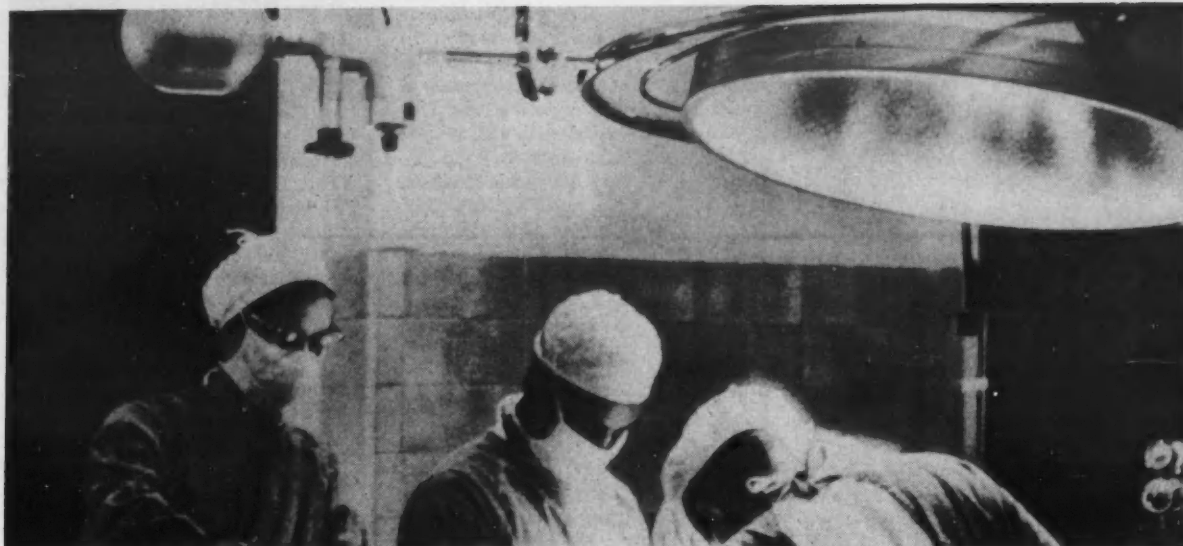
What then will the Boards of Directors of Methodist and St. Mary's Hospitals do?

Will they open their doors to Negro physicians?

Will those opposing white physicians 'be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage' in racial prejudice and unfair dealing?

Will they remember ... ?

'... He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again ...' II Corinthians 5:15.



A Surgical Team at Michael Reese Hospital.

This is our Easter Message

NORTHERN INDIANA MEDICAL, DENTAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY"

It was a startling Easter Message, a statement that led to a major breakthrough for Gary's Negro physicians who soon found the facilities of the city's two major hospitals available to them on a non-discriminatory basis.

Negroes and Medicine by Dietrich C. Reitzes carefully chronicles the social dynamics that led the Negro physicians of Gary to publicize their Easter message. The book also describes and analyzes efforts in 13 other major cities to secure health services on the basis of need and merit rather than color.

Although Dr. Reitzes has written this study in the dispassionate language of a careful sociologist, one cannot help feeling a sense of drama while reading his descriptions of the human struggles to secure the equal right to be healed and to heal.

Microcosm of Racial Problems

A book of this nature would not usually recommend itself to the general reading public for it is laced with ta-

bles, standard deviations and the standard sociological style of writing—the tongue and tools of the social researcher. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the book is peculiarly valuable for anyone interested in the resolution of America's inter-racial conflicts. I say "peculiarly valuable" because an analysis of interracial problems often seems hopelessly complicated by a mass of multi-faceted factors such as history, economics, social relationships and the sheer numbers of people involved. Although all of these factors come to play in the field of race and medical practice, the number of facets are more limited and the number of people and forces involved are fewer. Thus, a careful analysis such as Dr. Reitzes' study is valuable to an understanding of the total pattern of race relations because it treats an area of the total pattern that more readily falls within the grasp of comprehension. In this sense, the book is a series of sociological vignettes that describe varied approaches to the resolution of interracial problems.

Although the "pure social scientist" might disdain this attempt to assay the usefulness of sociological research, I feel that this book is literally useful in two senses. First, as previously men-

tioned, the book provides useful tools for analysis of interracial problems. Second, the facts presented are, in themselves, useful tools for securing change. As the forces seeking change in the segregated pattern have gathered momentum, their hand has been greatly strengthened by the proofs of prejudice provided by Reitzes' research.

The best foundation for those seeking change is usually incontrovertible facts proving the inequities of the status quo. The reason for this is that those supporting, or responsible for, an inequitable status quo will fight change each step of the way. The first step is to deny that a problem exists. The second is to deny responsibility when the problem is admitted. The third is to plead lack of power to effect change once responsibility is admitted.

Facts Already Used

Incontrovertible facts, that prove inequities, are the best weapons in winning the first battle, i.e., whether or not a problem really exists. The developments in Chicago vividly substantiate this fact for it was Reitzes' statistics, showing Chicago's lack of integration in medicine compared with other cities, that finally forced the proponents of the status quo to admit the existence of serious problems. Dramatic charges, allegations, rumors and hearsay evidence had failed to win this admission for many years.

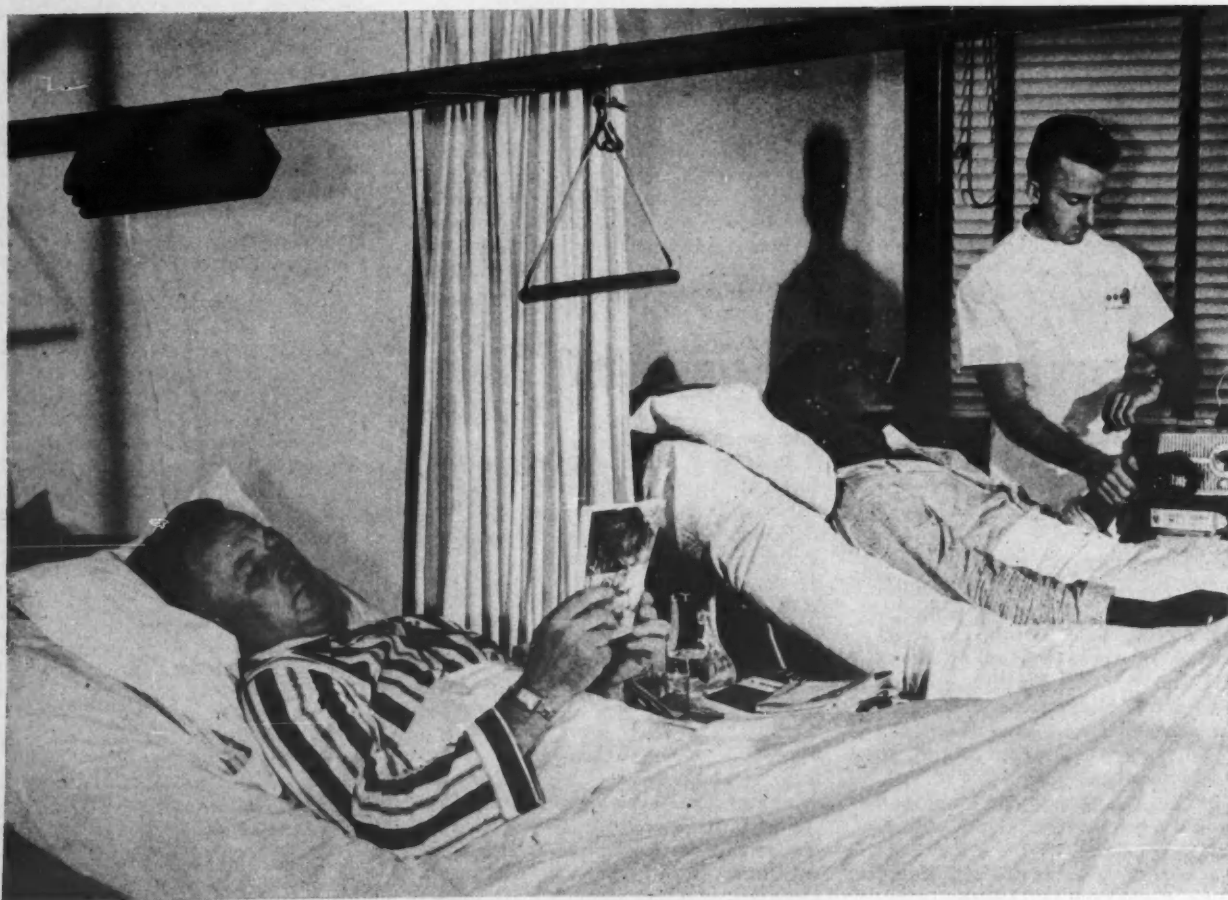
It seems a small victory, to gain public recognition that a problem exists. And yet without that victory, the battle is not begun and the strategy and plans for how and where we will effect change are useless.

It is enough commendation of *Negroes In Medicine*, to say that it has not been just another book of facts and figures gathering dust on the shelf.

Other Cities

Readers of *Community* may be particularly interested in the book's descriptions of progress in Kansas City, St. Louis, New Orleans and Chicago. In these cities, the Catholic Church has been singled out as an active participant in the struggle for integration. In Kansas City and St. Louis, the church's activities have been particularly effective in providing leadership for equality throughout the medical community.

It is interesting to note that Reitzes' analysis is not a specialized or unique endeavor in terms of sociological method. He has viewed the Negro in medicine as part of a total professional society that has rules, mores, traditions and customs of its own. Thus, Reitzes' study is not so much an analysis of discrimination as it is a view of the medical community and one of its problems.



This type of unsegregated hospital treatment for Negroes is rare.

This approach merits increased consideration by students of sociology and race relations. For, problems of race almost always operate in the context of a larger collectivity which must be comprehended if we are to deal intelligently with the internal problem of discrimination.

Factors In Integrating

The final chapter of *Negroes and Medicine* defines seven factors that, combined in various forms, helped or hindered integration in the 14 cities studied.

First was the presence and importance of a predominantly Negro hospital. In general, those cities without such a hospital had a higher degree of integration. This point affirms the fact that institutionalized segregation is usually self-perpetuating. A Negro institution tends to provide some outlet for the energies of the Negro community while reducing the pressures on the white community to integrate its institutions.

Second was the presence or absence of influential persons or groups actively pressing for integration. Perhaps this is a point especially pertinent to the medical profession which is not usually considered to be highly democratic in its structure or organization. Progress often depended less on popular pressure than upon the largess of influential white physicians or community leaders.

Third was contacts between Negro physicians and key white persons within the hospital structure. Individual merit cannot be recognized if race remains a wall completely separating whites and Negroes. And in medicine as in so many areas of American life, one of the most basic problems is racial isolation that prohibits those normal contacts that lead to productive relationships and "natural" integration.

Negro Pressure

Fourth was the amount and effectiveness of pressure applied by Negro physicians seeking integration. Doors don't open if you don't knock. And Negro physicians have not tended to knock so hard when there is a predominantly Negro hospital in the community. When the physicians have joined forces to knock collectively, the effect has been much greater.

Fifth was the supply of well trained and qualified Negro physicians. Reitzes found that this factor was not highly significant in promoting integration even though the supporters of the status quo usually justify medical staff segregation by saying that Negro physicians are not well enough qualified. And yet Chicago and Washington, D.C., cities with the highest percentage of board certified Negro physicians, were not included in those cities with the highest degree of integration.

Sixth was the relationships of the Negro physicians in a community. There is a potential enmity between general practitioners and specialists. Reitzes found that if a community's Negro physicians could cooperate to the extent of referring patients to each other, rather than to white physicians, the prestige of the Negro medical community was enhanced. This enhancement, to a small degree, tended to promote integration.

Seventh was the general pattern of race relations in the community. Interestingly enough, Reitzes believes that only in the South and Border States is this an important factor. In the North and West he found that the general "tone" of race relations and the degree of integration in medicine were independent variables.

Conclusion

The book's analysis of medical education available to the Negro student is especially thought provoking. Reitzes found that discrimination in admission



Exploding Cities *Housing*

THE EXPLODING METROPOLIS. The Editors of "Fortune." 193 pages. (Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, \$3.95.)

THE person who is concerned with racial inequalities in Northern cities is quite naturally interested in the growth patterns of the metropolis and in the public and private activities which will channel that growth. Will urban renewal hasten or put back the day when integration is a reality? Is a highway being located in order to confirm a tacit separation between white and Negro communities? In searching out the answers to these questions it is quite easy to lose sight of the fact that the projects and policies which are being examined for their effect on residential segregation have actually other aims, to provide decent and attractive housing or to transport people. We end up judging the adequacy of a public program purely on its effects on opportunities to obtain equality. I do not advocate dropping that criterion but it might be helpful to step back now and again to look at a program in terms of its stated purpose. Let us see the kind of community to which we will eventually have equal access.

The Exploding Metropolis, a compilation of six articles originally published

of Negroes to medical schools has become a part of the past. And yet, the proportional increase in the number of Negro students has been very small. This is partly explained by the educational background of the Negro students seeking admission to medical schools, for this background is often the product of second class schools, segregated de facto or by Southern law.

All of which raises a difficult problem for the future. Dr. Everett Hughes, in his introduction to the book, recognizes the problem by pointing out that some people may assume that opening the door is enough, even though no one enters. Is this enough? Or is there a responsibility to battle on against the "hangovers" of discrimination? Should we act as though race

in *Fortune* magazine, provides stimulating suggestions on what is good and what is bad in urban planning today. It is written, says the editor, by people who like cities. The nice thing about them is that they like cities much as they are. They hold no brief for those who want to save the city by making it into a suburb. The book is written not as a scholarly treatise but as a warning to look now with a critical eye at what is being done to cities under the banners both of free enterprise and of urban renewal. The authors express themselves with the bitterness of lovers who see the object of their love betrayed.

Exploding the City Planners

The bitterness is directed especially against the experts who are blinded by their own specialties and against the dominant school of city planning. That school is fascinated by the idea of grandiose developments which immortalize the ego of the planner but which fail utterly to serve the needs or satisfy the sensibilities of those who must live and work in them. A plan which looks very impressive on the drawing board is often so vast that its pleasant symmetry in small scale turns to impossible tedium when translated into twenty story slabs separated by malls of unrelieved grass

no longer exists, or should we take special action to overcome those individual handicaps left over from our long history of racial discrimination?

This is a momentous question of social policy. There are those who believe that insuring freedom rather than insuring its use is the goal. To go beyond this point would appear to them to sanction a distasteful kind of social engineering. On the other hand, those supporting programs to aid the victims of discrimination even after the walls are broken down believe that a man's history is as real a wall as any other.

Although the answer is not simple, the reader of *Negroes and Medicine* will find many facts to guide in making an intelligent decision.

—John McKnight

As they attempt to free us from unquestioning subservience to expertise in city planning, they also attack some other widely worshipped idols in the Pantheon of civic betterment. Among them: metropolitan government, mass transportation as the solution to the ills of the central business district, suburbia as heaven and politics as the source of all evil in the administration of large cities.

It is to its credit that a magazine which is committed to the interests of business should feel free to undercut the good government movement for that movement arises principally in the Republican and business community. *Fortune* is saying to business men, get out and work with the world as it is; don't wait for the achievement of a non-political city administration. Moreover, probably under the influence of William H. Whyte, *Fortune* is saying that it is just as well that the outside world is not so rational as the business man might like.

Reaching the Unwashed

The treatment of residential segregation is unexceptionable except for its brevity. The context within which segregation is considered is a chapter on slums. The argument, basically, is that slums cannot be afforded; segregation creates slums; therefore . . . But the synthesis is never expressed in so many words. Though this analysis contributes nothing new, it is probably the most successful approach to the great unwashed. The unwashed will also be gotten at from another direction. The city is lauded for its variety—which gives spice to life—and, in a chapter called "Are Cities Un-American?" it is pointed out that there are examples to prove that whites and Negroes can live together.

The most significant contribution that this book makes is its effort to educate the perceptiveness of the citizen to what he is being sold as the city of tomorrow, while reaffirming his final right to judge the work of technicians. It is encouraging in an age of experts to find someone publically and strongly asserting what many people must suspect but fear to say.

—Warren W. Lehman

The Heart of Everything

ONE HEART there is in Manly Breast from whence LOVE leaps. Sometimes a bluewhite flash It pierces universe in seeking out a particular soul. Sometimes a lovely golden glow infused with rosy warmth It beckons, It invites, It hovers near and lingers lovingly for soul to rise from mire of misused earthly goods and plunge into Divine Embrace.

One HEART there is in Manly Breast with room and ROOM. Room for ME, no matter who I am, how handicapped or what my color. For all those who have broken bread with me or snatched my bread away. For all those who have shared my tasks and joys or shoved their burdens on my back and caused me tears. Room for all those who have passed me by on lane or thoroughfare of life with smile and friendly warmth. For all those who have thrust a shaft of scorn at me in passing. For all the robots rooted in indifference, and all who offered me a frigid back and drifted on in quiet cold like an iceberg. For those I scorned or grieved or turned away. For all those who have watched His stars proceed in orderly array when ancient history unfolded daily as news. Room for every soul that ever was or is or shall be in the world to come.

And each soul has a special niche within that HEART. Within each niche is Portrait of that soul in Beauty God intended from the moment He first planned its existence. Within that niche is a Blueprint of Divine Purpose for that soul in relation to other souls, a Special Place that a soul has in the affections of Our Lord. It is a V.I.P. in Divine Economy.

Soldier's Lance

That HEART was opened wide one time with thrust of soldier's lance. Surgeon's needle never closed that wound. God left it open like a door.

His blood poured out for ALL the people, not just for successful "whites." There is no Jim Crow in His HEART, no exclusion laws against the handicapped, no "No Room" signs for anybody.

Looking backward over the ages we see the nations of peoples God has developed in interesting variety, one type in one spot of the world, another type elsewhere. For many eras God's peoples were largely separated from each other by distances and geographical barriers that required long time intervals to cover. During those periods God gave to many peoples the chance to develop what they could or would for Him separately.

All Immigrants

One continent He seemed to save, well stocked in all the good things of His creation, until He was ready to bring all peoples together. We are all immigrants in the United States, even the red men. I have watched people in thirty-five of our United States. Definitely, our country is a promised land of MANY peoples, perhaps ALL KINDS of peoples. It is NOT a "white giant" that has to "put up with" a few odds and ends of "minorities that don't matter."

In our country NONE of us would amount to much without the OTHERS WITH US. Wherever we have put our assorted shoulders jointly to the tasks that God has wanted accomplished, we have made progress in giant strides and set the pace for other nations. Wherever we have quit working to argue about the color, nationality, social or cultural status of the shoulders by our side we have wasted goods and time and men and glory. Perhaps the hands that God had planned for OUR country with special patience and fine skills for exact-

ing work in experimental nuclear science were chocolate colored, or shot marbles on the "other side of the tracks," or were denied existence because their potential mothers were sterilized in some "welfare" program. And we watch another country's rocket pass the moon.

Right now, in this country, God seems to want a complete array of His peoples, not only all colors, but also all ages. God is allowing most babies to survive infancy and has pushed back the life expectancy of men making for Himself a splendid panorama of living people from premature babies in incubators to senior citizens past the century mark. He isn't stopping with variety in age and color either. In every era He has always granted some exceptional people, without which the fallen nature and darkened intellect of man would never have appreciated the scope of God's natural physical gifts to men.

Rare Courage

It takes rare courage generously reinforced with grace of God for a person to behold his neighbors today—ALL of them, not just the few he has singled out for personal friends, useful acquaintances, or even "enemies" to kick around and project his own feelings of inadequacy. All of the people who have been banished to desolate Indian Reservations in the west, ghettoed into the left-overs of housing, imprisoned in back bedrooms, shunted off into institutions, relegated to the welfare, or left to drift about anonymously are still our neighbors, meant by God to be ASSETS, not LIABILITIES.

One time my neighbor was a loathsome boy with beady eyes and a stealthy way of appearing on the premises at odd times with unseen approach. His family had moved into an empty house down the road. The stepfather was broken in health, the mother was burdened with grief and one of the sons was now in the penitentiary. The first time this boy appeared in my yard playing with my younger children I was simply panic stricken. Dropping what I was doing in the house I hurried outside where they were playing and herded my boys into the house as soon as I could steer him away from my place.

In our sparsely populated neighborhood complete segregation of our children from this boy was impossible to manipulate and maintain.

"I come over to play wid yer boys," he said one day as I raced outdoors to head him away.

"I don't have any boys in your age group," I stated firmly.

"I ain't any bigger'n them," he countered, and visions of his past pinched dinners raced skimpily across my conscience.

"But you're so much older than they are they couldn't possibly play anything that would interest you," I continued.

"They're a heap smarter'n I am," he stated flatly. "I can't hardly keep up widdem."

Shoulders Dropped

Memories of my oldest son playing mental chess with my youngest sons at mealtime stabbed me and I gasped. The boy's shoulders dropped down farther. Looking at the ground he began, "I know I ain't purty . . . Don't nobody want to look at me. 'At scar on my face is awful. Got burned when I wuz little . . . Don't remember much . . . Got my dog out of that fire though . . ."

Our thousand-piece jigsaw puzzle took up a lot of time constructively

National Integration Act

(Continued from page 1)

Statutes Must Implement

The framers of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, in attaching this proviso to each of these Amendments, were giving explicit sanction to what in fact was always the theory behind the Constitution; that its provisions were general statements of broad policy objectives, and that to implement these objectives required specific Congressional statutes.

Interwoven with this misunderstanding of the Constitution, is that of the Supreme Court, and its historic role in American politics. Every American school-child learns about the separation of governmental powers within three supposedly equal branches: legislative, executive and judicial. The fact is, however, that the judiciary has far less power. This of course is partially inherent in the differences in the instruments themselves: Congress and the Executive control the purse-strings of the government; the Executive controls its vast enforcement arm, including our military establishment.

But the most basic reason for the superior power of these two branches is simply that they are popular, while the Federal Judiciary is not. Federal judges arrive at their posts through a combination of ability, political loyalty and luck, and of course Supreme Court Justices also follow this pattern. The President and Congress, on the other hand, are elected by a large proportion of the adult population of the country. And when they speak and act, in general it is with the power of these millions behind them.

Inferior Power

Andrew Jackson rather cynically underlined this inferior power of the Court vis-a-vis the other branches in his famous comment on one of Chief Justice Marshall's decisions, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it!"

The Court's 1954 decision was a test of the Constitutionality of several state statutes, which had provided for segregated public schools. Its invalidation of these laws, as morally right as it was, was a politically negative action: the creation of a statutory vacuum without compensatory means being taken to fill it.

It was at this juncture that the Executive, preferably in the person of the President himself, should have stepped in immediately, following up the Court's declaration with one of his own, stating in unequivocal terms his belief in the moral rightness and practical need for this decision, and the acceptance by the Federal Government of legal and moral responsibility for promoting its implementation.

National Integration Program

This should then logically have been followed by Congressional legislation to plug the gap left by the invalidated state statutes: legislation which would lay the outlines of a national integration program, provide for multiple Federal assistance programs to this end, appropriate funds for these programs, and provide penalties, in the form of fines and jail sentences, strong enough so as to deter wholesale violations of the law.

Unfortunately such action was not

right within eye and earshot of my household duties. So did the piano. It was really much easier to serve an extra plate at mealtime than to devise means of shooting away a neglected, undernourished boy while things on the stove burned. He would have loved a Rosary and Catholic devotions could have found a warm welcome in his battered heart and filled up emptiness

forthcoming on the part of either branch. The result was that the burden, which should have been spread over the whole of the Federal Government, fell entirely upon the Judiciary. Recent events are proving its inadequacy to the task.

However, while the silence from the White House continues to be deafening, a ray of hope can be seen in the fact that a bill was introduced in the last session of Congress, which had it been passed would have fulfilled many of the needs we have discussed. "The Civil Rights Act of 1958," was sponsored by 16 Senators on both sides of the aisle. Unfortunately, it died in Committee.

Titles of the Program

Title I of this bill provided for the unequivocal declaration of Federal responsibility, thus committing the moral authority and the power of the Federal Government to integration.

Title II authorized the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to promote desegregation through the distribution of information, including successful case histories of desegregation, through the arrangement of conferences with local officials, the appointment of advisory councils, and the provision of specialists' services to States and local communities. Appropriations of up to \$2.6 million a year for five years were authorized for these purposes.

Title III authorized the Secretary of H.E.W. to make grants for school facilities in areas where their lack was obstructing integration. It also provided grants for employing additional teachers, in-service teacher training, and similar measures. One section of Title III provided funds for the "replacement of State payments to a school district . . . withdrawn because the applicant district . . . is eliminating . . . segregation."

Title IV provided that, when, despite all of the help proffered under Titles II and III to local communities, they still did not develop and carry out suitable plans, the responsibility would then shift to the Federal Government, acting through H.E.W.

Legal Power Provided

The last two titles of the bill provided the legal power to bring about compliance. Title V empowered the Attorney General to file compliance actions in school cases involving approved desegregation plans, when the Secretary certified that all efforts to secure compliance by voluntary means have failed. And Title VI enabled the Attorney General to bring legal action in cases where State or local officials deny any person the equal protection of the laws.

Although this bill died in the last Congressional session, undoubtedly it or something very similar to it will be offered shortly. With the great new liberal majorities in both Houses there is an excellent chance that this year's bill will fare much better than its predecessor. With the consequences of four years of inaction manifesting themselves daily, it is hoped that this year will see the passage of this long-overdue legislation.

—Tom Seess

in his life. We had never seen a Rosary then or had access to anything Catholic but we took him to all religious services available. After awhile we no longer had to worry about things disappearing from the yard. After a while my neighbor passed his seventeenth birthday and made the Navy instead of the Reformatory.

—Dorothy Abernethy